

Jawāher-e Kamsa, title of a Persian work on Sufi meditation practices composed by the well-known and controversial Šaṭṭārī saint, Moḥammad Ġawṭ Gwāleyārī (906/1500– 970/1563; Ernst, "Persecution"; Kugle, "Heaven's Witness"). In the text he gives his full name as Moḥammad b. Kaṭīr al-Dīn b. Laṭīf b. Muṭīn al-Dīn Qattāl b. Kaṭīr al-Dīn b. Bāyazīd b. Kāja Farīd al-Dīn 'Aṭṭār (MS 1384 Patna, fol. 3a), and he also refers to himself as "Abū al-Mo'ayyad Moḥammad al-moḳāṭab bel-Ġawṭ 'enda Allāh" (fol. 270b). The book, as he explains, is the fruit of the teachings of his master, Šayḳ Zohūr Ḥājjī Ḥozūr, as well as the result of his experiences in retreat over the course of 13 (or 16) years in the mountainous fortress of Čunār in northern India. At the age of 22, he composed the book and showed it to his master, who confirmed his sainthood and the validity of the book's teachings. Subsequently when he was exiled in Gujarat during the ascendancy of Šēr Šāh Sūrī (947/1540-963/1556), at the urging of his disciples he reworked the book, completing this second edition when he was 50 years old in 956/1549; no copies of the earlier version are known to exist.

The *Jawāher-e Kamsa* is divided into five parts, each called a *jawhar*, addressing the following topics: (I) on the worship of devotees (*‘ebādat-e ‘ābedān*) concerning Qur'anic verses in supererogatory prayer, required Islamic prayers, and devotions for particular time; (II) on the practices of ascetics (*zohd-e zāhedān*), dealing with internal practices that may be attempted after gaining perfection in external devotions; (III) on invocation (*da‘wat*) of the names of God, which requires the instruction of a master; (IV) on the recitations and practices (*adkār o ašgāl*) that are distinctive to the mystics of the Šaṭṭārī path; and (V) the legacy of divine practices belonging to those who have realized the truth.

While the *Jawāher-e Kamsa* is similar to other well-known manuals of Sufi recitation, it also has distinctive characteristics. Part I is clearly aimed at the ordinary believer, while Part II consists of internal practices that may be attempted after attaining perfection in external devotions. The succeeding parts increasingly aim at more elite audiences. The formulas to be recited are almost invariably Arabic with a strong Qur'anic flavor, although Persian quatrains are

regularly introduced for emphasis. There is frequent reference to the Prophet Muhammad and to famous Sufis. What is most characteristic of this treatise, however, is its distinctly practical flavor, with detailed instructions not only for performance but also in terms of the results (whether spiritual or material) that are to be expected; this practicality is probably the reason for the popularity of this work.

In Part III, the invocations include signs of the zodiac, planets, letters of the Arabic alphabet, and the governing spirits (*mowakkelān*) who control all of the preceding. Certain prayers based on divine names fall into distinct classes of prayer according to the number of times they are repeated, which may range well into the thousands; some are even pronounced letter by letter. The influences of some of the divine names are explained in metaphysical terms familiar from the school of Ebn al-‘Arabī. Frequent use is made of the numerical properties of the Arabic alphabet according to the *abjad* system. There are remarkably practical applications, including one recitation, inscribed on a silver ring, which will make

sultans obedient to one's word. Part IV has detailed description of techniques including the number of "beats" (*yek zarbī*, etc.), posture, breath control, visualization of divine names and formulas in different parts of the body, psychic states, and the metaphysical significance of experiences to be encountered, occasionally with multi-circular cosmic diagrams and complicated tables of letters.

The *Jawāher-e Kamsa* has been an extremely popular work since it was first written, and while the Persian text has not been printed, there are numerous manuscripts (Monzavī, *Pākestān*, III:1392-4 lists over 20 copies). It had many sequels among the Persian texts produced by the Šaṭṭārī Sufis of India (Ernst, "Meditations"). It was especially well known in the Arabic translation *al-Jawāher al-Kams* by Šebghat Allāh of Broach (d. 1606; his *nesba* Brōčī is sometimes Arabicized as al-Barwajī), which became a standard part of Sufi training in the Arabian Peninsula, particularly in the hands of teachers such as the latter's Egyptian-born student Aḥmad al-Šinnawī (d. 1619), who wrote an important

commentary on the text entitled *Taḥleyat al-baṣā'ir* (*al-Jawāher al-Ḳams*, I:5).

This tradition was continued by a succession of teachers who inherited the Ṣaṭṭārī teachings, including Aḥmad al-Qoṣāṣī (d. 1071/1660-1) and the well-known Ebrāhīm al-Kūrānī (d. 1101/1690), whose works were widely studied as far away as Morocco and Southeast Asia (El-Rouayheb, p. 271; “al-Kūrānī, Ibrāhīm,” “al-Ḳuṣḥāshī, Ṣafī al-Dīn Aḥmad,” in EI²). This Arabic version was published in Fez in a lithograph edition in Maḡrebī script (1900, recently reprinted), and later in a modern edition (ed. Aḥmad b. al-‘Abbās, Cairo, 1393 H./1974) based on manuscripts from the Tējānī *zāweya* in Cairo and from the Dār al-Kotob library; while the editor of the latter was an enthusiastic advocate of its spiritual teachings (I:3-9), the publisher nevertheless included a disclaimer (I: 211-2) disavowing any misguided teaching that was not firmly based on sound *ḥadīṭ*. There have also been at least five Urdu translations in multiple editions, some still in print (Moḥammad Naẓīr Rānjhā, *Barr-e ṣaḡīr Pāk o Hend mēñ taṣawwof kī maṭbū‘āt*, Lahore, 1999, pp. 266-7; see Gaborieau). Certain portions

of this text, including striking diagrams, were rendered into English in the mid-19th century (Ja`far Sharif, *Islam in India or the Qanun-i-Islam, the Customs of the Musalmans of India*, trans. G. A. Herklots, ed. William Crooke, Oxford, 1921; reprint ed., New Delhi, 1972, pp. 219-31.).

Finally, it should be pointed out that peculiar blinkers of early Orientalist scholarship held it axiomatic that all forms of Eastern mysticism were identical, so it is often been alleged that Sufism owes much to yoga. T. P. Hughes actually described the *Jawāher-e Kamsa* as follows: "This book is largely made up of Hindu customs which, in India, have become part of Muhammadanism" (*A Dictionary of Islam*, London, 1885; reprint ed., Delhi, 1973, s.v. "Da`wah," pp. 72-78.). The text in fact contains (*al-Jawahir al-kams*, II:70) only one isolated *dekr* formula in Hindi, attributed, not to any yogi, but to the early Češtī Sufi master Farīd al-Dīn Ganj-e Šakkar (d. 1265), which is well known in other Sufi literature. Although Moḥammad Ġawṭ was certainly knowledgeable about yoga (Ernst,

"Sufism and the Yoga"), it is absurd to see yogic practices as the basis of this Sufi compilation (Ernst, "Situating").

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